159 attempt to open up communications between Lei-po and Huang-
622 mao Kang. He used all means to make friends with the Lolo of
557 the En-cha branch to expand his influence. Furthermore, be-
177 cause of his Sinicization, he adopted the Chinese custom of worshipping ancestors both in the direct and the indirect lines [i. e., the line of his granduncle, as well as the line of his
[595] father]. Besides his first wife from the Li-ch'ü family, he took another wife from the Wu-ch'i family in the hope of continuing his granduncle's lineage, making his second wife stay with his grandaunt of the Wu-p'ao family. Hsing-min had good connections with different Lolo branches and his reputation and influence grew day by day. The strong family background of his two wives further enhanced his influence. Because of his multi-connections with the Lolo and Han-Chinese, he became one of the very successful Lolo leaders. Whenever the Han-Chinese living in the Lei-po area mention Hu Hsing-min's name, they all show great respect and admiration for him.

621 Wu-chio is quite different from other un-Sinicized Lolo
177 areas in that it is near a Chinese city and has been developed
563 by the Han-Chinese. Its inhabitants are all Sinicized Lolo with occasionally some Han-Chinese families living amidst the Lolo, so that it can hardly fail to have Chinese influence in its social organization. It is an important communication center between the Lolo and Han-Chinese, as well as an important pass to Ta-liang Shan. [22] As such, it will be difficult to reduce the tension between the two groups without an intelligent and capable
614 leader in charge of the place. Hu Hsing-min died about five or
622 six years ago and was survived by two wives and their young
627 children. The wife from the Li-ch'ü family (Li-ch'ü shih) had two young daughters, and the wife from Wu-ch'i (Wu-ch'i shih) had a son still in infancy. Trouble soon started with the loss
[581 of the great family leader. Hsing-min had a younger uncle
587] [see footnote, p. 25] in the paternal clan by the name of Hu Ch'ang-pao, who intended to marry Li-ch'ü shih in order to succeed to Hsing-min's position. According to Lolo custom, the wife, after her husband's death, could marry his brother, his paternal younger uncle, his brother's son, or others. But
[614] Li-ch'ü shih did not want to remarry, and so she secretly asked her younger brother to kill Ch'ang-pao. The latter's family was weak and had no male member, but his elder maternal cousin [mother's elder brother's son], named Wu-ch'i Ku-pao, announced that he would avenge Ch'ang-pao's death and led his clan members to Wu-chio to engage in a feud. There were several attacks and counterattacks with casualties on

596 wealthy families. Polyandry is prohibited in Lolo society; but because of their loose sexual concept, polyandry is sometimes secretly practiced. Young girls in their teens could have free [836] love and intercourse with young men, especially male cross-cousins with whom they disport and have fun. This will be discussed in more detail later on.

595 [55] Polygyny is often motivated by the political ambi-
557 tion of Lolo leaders who want to expand their influence through the connections of their wives' families. Hu Hsing-min, for example, was one of them. Considering that the influence of Li-ch'ü shih's branch alone was not strong enough for him, he also married Wu-ch'i shih to increase his power and status
595 through connection with the Wu-ch'i branch. In a Lolo polygnous family, wives have equal social status. They call each other sisters. Without regard to their own ages, the first wife is the elder sister and the second wife the younger sister. Each wife has a separate household and property, unlike the Han-Chinese, among whom wife and concubine stay together but have unequal social position. Before the Lolo man takes a second wife, he has to appease his first wife by offering her oxen or sheep, or sometimes a horse. He also has to reach
[607] an understanding with his wife's brothers by entertaining them with food and wine. Without their consent in advance, he may run into trouble and have disputes that will develop into a clan feud.

● 581 As a whole, these marriage practices not only regulate the Lolo's sexual life and their kinship and clan structure, but also their daily behavior and even their political and economic activities. The marriage relationship has the same importance in Lolo society as in other societies. Marriage is the biggest event and the most important transitional stage in life as a young man and woman go from love to marriage and from marriage to the establishment of the family.

000 Adolescence is the beginning of the sexual period, during which, no matter whether male or female, all are eager to act. But every society has its own traditions, and the behavior of the male and female is subject to their influence.
582 Lolo customs prefer early marriage. The woman's marriageable age is usually odd-numbered, the favored age being nine, eleven, thirteen, fifteen, seventeen, and nineteen. During
302 her childhood the girl usually keeps her hair in a single braid
884 behind the head. At the time of marriage, she changes her hair style to two braids doubled up on the head. Therefore, a double braid and a single braid serve respectively as symbols of the married and unmarried women. But if a girl is

586 wants to divorce his wife, then her family would demand that apologies and payments be made to her. When there is no other alternative, husband and wife can have a divorce and live separately, but first they have to negotiate through a mediator the number of slaves and the portion of land and other property the husband should leave his wife to give her economic independence. When both sides agree, then they can get a divorce. During the husband's lifetime, the di-
587 vorced woman cannot remarry, and her clan cannot hope to transfer her in marriage.

●581 To sum up, there is a close relationship between mar-
614 riage and the clan family in Lolo society. Marriage is not a consummation of love between male and female — young lovers do not often become lifelong partners — but is the alliance of two clans and an instrument of their co-operation. At the same time, the economic factors in marriage tend to stabilize family life. Hence marriage is a cooperative interclan contract; with their respective clan backgrounds, husband and wife enjoy equal status in the marriage relationship.

1: Lin E-5 (1943) 1947 AE4 Lolo AE4

[60] CHAPTER 6

ECONOMIC LIFE

592 The family constitutes the main unit of Lolo daily economic life and the family economy is built on the basis of marriage relationship. Young unmarried members of the family who have to depend upon their parents for support are not independent economically. At the time of marriage, the groom's
581 parents provide house and land while the bride's parents provide the dowry and other property to give the newlyweds a material basis on which to build their own family. Therefore marriage is also a part of the economic structure, by which society helps the young couple to establish the basic economic conditions and encourages cooperative efforts by the husband and wife in managing the family's economic life.

000 Generally speaking, economic organization can be divided into three stages, namely, production, distribution, and consumption. This kind of classification, however, is not applicable to a primitive society whose economic problems are quite different from ours. Lolo material culture, which has passed the hunting and fishing stage, is no longer in the simplest and most primitive form; nevertheless, their agricultural and cattle-breeding economy does not lend itself easily to categorical analysis. For example, a typical Lolo family owns some arable land, on which cultivated corn, buckwheat, and other grains, which the family uses to make cakes and dried food for its own consumption. In such case, the boundary between production and consumption is very difficult to delimit. To take another example: except for the entertainment of guests on special occasions, the festival to send off the Buddha [see p. 116] provides one of the rare opportunities for the Lolo to distribute meat to their family members. But this occasion for meat distribution is closely related to religion and magic, and no borderline can be drawn to define the respective activities. Therefore from the sociological point of view, there is only one overall economic process, whose two aspects are the seizure of material products and their utilization. Economic function, which actually has much sociological significance, is not limited to the production and consumption of wealth. To understand the economic structure of the

5: Pollard M-5 (no date) 1921 AE4 Lolo AE4

tub resting on the small of the back. This water-carrying business is one of the heaviest burdens the women have to bear, and often the distance from the house to the water is very great. I have known some places where the girls have to travel nearly two hours before they are back home with the tub of water. They carry it very dexterously, scarcely ever spilling any of the water over the rim of the tub. Frequently, however, there is a leak, and then the clothes get wet, of which no notice is taken until rheumatic or other pains warn the water-carriers that something has gone wrong. A village near a constantly running spring has a great advantage over one distant from water. I have known girls base their "yes" or "no," in reply to a proposal, on the nearness or distance of the water-supply at the village of the would-be bridegroom. The man who looks after my horses was the second to propose in one day to his present wife. The girl accepted the first, not knowing that there was a second proposal to come the same day. When the second one reached her she immediately realised that the water-supply of the second man's village was close to the houses and she bitterly regretted that she had so readily agreed to the first proposal. In some way or other she broke off the first engagement, and went to marry the man whose chief asset was the near water-supply of his village. Possibly he does not feel flattered when he remembers how he managed to win his wife; or, possibly, he never thinks anything about it, content with things as they are; or again, he may put down his success over his rival to his superior charms. Who knows? Who dares to be dogmatic in matter concerning a man and a girl and the great elusive mystery of the latter's heart and attractive ways?

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao
Lolo AE4

Last year a laird was executed at Suei-ts'en in Kweichow, but he must have been a small one.

Thus there exists in north-western Kweichow and north-eastern Yunnan what is actually the feudal system. Many of the lairds own vast estates, as large as an English county, and all the people on the estate are their tenants. The lairds are all of them Black No-su, and the White No-su are their serfs or slaves. These lairds are nearly all related to one another, as they constantly intermarry for the sake of joining and enlarging their estates. A No-su heiress is always pestered and sometimes actually besieged by suitors. A laird always marries the daughter of some other laird, and as there is but a limited number of them, this constant intermarriage has doubtless contributed to the decadence of the race and to the frequency of lunacy among them. They may, and often do, have Chinese and Miao women as concubines.

The Miao tenants, who greatly outnumber the No-su tenants, are not slaves, but practically serfs. The soil is very poor, and any Miao, if he fancied a piece of unoccupied land, might build his hovel there and cultivate some of it. The lairds are glad to have them as tenants; the rent they pay is mostly in kind, and not by any means high. As a matter of fact, the tenants,

101 The Ho Nhi may apparently be connected with the Lolo group
197 because of their language. There are very few of them in Tonkin,
131 and they are settled at the extreme western part of the Chinese frontier.
342 Their cabins, built on the soil itself, have roofs which come down
291 very low and mud walls. The men's clothing is of the style usual among the mountaineers and very dark blue in color. The women wear a garment of the same basic color, consisting of a long tunic whose inner skirt is raised up on the right hip, and a breast-covering, wide trousers descending to the knee, and leggings which are put on like stockings and tied up with garters. Their headdress is made by placing
[302] a dark blue kerchief over their chignon whose fringes drop to each side of the face, and they put on top of this a leather crown trimmed with little silver bells.

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Section 3

Customs and Religious Ideas

771 The customs of the Lolo who have immigrated to Tonkin have not been preserved in their primitive purity and frequently are full of customs of the neighboring ethnic groups. Detailed study of them, therefore, will not be interesting from an ethnographic point of view. We shall only point out those which include some trace of characteristic mores.

[581] Customs relating to marriage are very obviously the same as among the Meo. Those relating to death have certain unusual character-
764 istics. Thus, among the Kan tao Lolo or "cutters of heads," the dead are buried without any coffins and a hollowed-out bamboo extends from the head of the corpse and comes out above ground level. When the children of the deceased think that decomposition of the corpse must be completed, they make certain by placing their nose at the upper end of the bamboo. When no further odor emanates, they proceed to exhume the head of the corpse and place it in a basket which they expose to view in their cabin. The object of this rite is the revival each day of the memory of their deceased relative.

769 The ancestors' tablet among the Lolo is made up of a paper figurine which is hung up on the partition of the cabin.

When the anniversary of a deceased relative is to be celebrated, a mannequin is constructed, stood up and dressed so as to recall the one whose memory they wish to honor. Women come to sing and